IDS' new directions for gender and sexuality

Agenda 2030 and the Addis Agenda do appear to represent a new reframing of development, while recent trends present both challenges and opportunities for moving forward on these agendas. Members of IDS' Gender and Sexuality cluster have reviewed the above trends and reached out to partners, policymakers and other stakeholders to explore implications for the future. Below, we lay out our proposed directions for new research, knowledge co-construction and communications for influence on gender and sexuality in development.

As the above context makes clear, it is not merely that our approaches may need updating in light of new international agreements: rather, new directions for gender and sexuality are primarily needed because the significant trends and shifts in the world today are making traditional ways of understanding and addressing inequities of gender and sexuality increasingly outdated. In this process of review and exploration, it became clear that several constraints within established development policy on gender need to be addressed in more holistic, complex and dynamic ways, which resonates with fundamental principles of Agenda 2030 such as indivisibility, universality and inclusivity, expressed in the phrase 'leave no one behind'.

In relation to the principle of '*indivisibility*', we see work on equality, sustainability and inclusion in gender and sexuality as necessarily multidimensional, covering political, sociocultural and material dimensions. This underpins our understanding of inequalities and exclusions as embedded in complex political, economic and social systems (variously patriarchal and sexist in nature) and also underpins the importance of interdisciplinary research. For example, the way we understand and analyse women's empowerment links work, incomes and economic empowerment with social empowerment (addressing undervalued care roles and work) as well as political empowerment (through collective action as well as policy/institutional reforms).

We also explicitly ground our outlook on '*universality*', in that we locate gender and sexuality in relations and dynamics of power, which cross borders and boundaries as well as public and private spaces, from local to global levels. Universality, we believe, refers to development being applicable to all countries, in both the global North and South.[7] We therefore see it as involving people with different degrees of gendered power or privilege everywhere, making it personal and political, for the disadvantaged and the powerful alike. For example, our work on men and masculinities increasingly explores intersectionality in different men's complex relationships to privilege and power, as well as dynamics and accountabilities between men's organisations and women's movements at different levels, and between the global North and South.

'*Inclusivity*' has been fundamental to our work in terms of challenging the marginalisation of certain groups and identities, by highlighting gendered diversity and challenging overly simplistic gender-binary and heteronormative constructions and assumptions. Clearly, people have multiple identities beyond gender, emphasising the need for attention to diversity within different gendered categories. However, understanding the associated intersecting bases for discrimination or

> 66 **Traditional ways of understanding and addressing inequities of gender and sexuality are increasingly outdated.** 99

privilege (e.g. how their sexuality, race, class or nationality intersects with gender) is also important. In particular, this is crucial to linking specific groups' situations, identifications, ideologies and actions with systemic sources of exclusion or inclusion. Our work on sexuality, in particular, highlights the need for more systemic inclusion of groups that are marginalised on the basis of – or through association with – sex and sexuality within economic as well as social and political processes of development.

These principles need to be applied with a focus on understanding *social change* as complex, adaptive and contested in order to forward a transformative vision.[8] During the process of review, we established a range of working groups to explore the implications of the above shifts for existing and new work in the Gender and Sexuality cluster. These focused on:

- the evolution of gendered violence and conflict;
- formal–informal gender dynamics of institutions;
- 'intersectionality' and links between social movements;
- insecure migration;
- implications of a growing digital space for gender and sexuality;
- the shifting roles of faith in gender and sexuality;
- changing ways of accessing and mobilising knowledge and research.

By considering the positive and negative influences of current trends on progress or regress in sexual and gender justice terms – and conceiving of directionality and dynamics within complex adaptive social systems – we have built on past areas of strong work to outline four major streams for further investigation. That is, the findings of the working groups were related to IDS' strengths from past and ongoing work to prioritise and cluster questions into four major streams. Each stream incorporated lessons and ideas from a number of the different working groups listed above (at least two in each case). The four main streams with new directions are:

Securing women's social and economic empowerment

Men and masculinities for equality, peace and justice

Gender, sexuality and digital development

Sexuality, poverty and inclusion

- securing women's social and economic empowerment;
- men and masculinities for equality, peace and justice;
- sexuality, poverty and inclusion;
- gender, sexuality and digital development.

We also identified other areas of work coming out of the working groups that need more time for exploration to define IDS' potential contributions, such as on faith, gender and sexuality, or applying a gender and sexuality lens to the issue of unsafe migration. Furthermore, while we did not establish separate working groups on (for example) climate change or urbanisation, certain working groups touched on these trends and issues, which are also being addressed in different research clusters at IDS and with whom we foresee making connections for linking the work and future exploration. Since many of the new issues explored in this process also cut across existing areas of work going forward, we have identified a number of promising ways of cross-pollinating learning and making linkages across the different streams of work, as well as across partnerships and other colleagues at IDS and beyond. The new directions for these streams, explorations and cross-linkages are laid out in separate subsections below.

Securing women's social and economic empowerment in contexts of migration

Over the past few decades, migration flows (both internal and international) have increased (Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan 2012) – trends which are expected to increase over the next few years. The reasons behind increased migration flows are many, and the impact these flows have on both host and sending countries are varied. Internal economic migration related to urbanisation and international migration through legal and informal channels can, in economic terms, be perceived as a positive trend that reduces income inequality and contributes to economic growth in sending countries/communities and fills skills gaps and labour shortages in host countries. While effects of both internal and international migration may be economically beneficial, they may also lead to tensions between migrant and host communities. This is particularly the case when displacement is induced by development or natural disasters leading to increased migration to urban centres, or intra-state and international conflicts causing movements of large numbers of people seeking refuge in other countries that are not experiencing conflict. These forms of movement bring questions around economic opportunities and distribution to the forefront, as host and migrant communities are (or are perceived to be) competing over resources, assets, state services and access to markets. We define these contexts where there are sudden and unpredictable economic uncertainties, and heightened competition (real or perceived) for resources, coupled with increased volatility in the social and economic system (including markets and prices affected) as economically insecure. Increased economic insecurity in many instances leads to a rise in xenophobia among the host population, and also contributes to host and migrant communities congregating around ethnic/race/religious identities.

While there are studies on how migrant and host communities cope in economically insecure contexts and their attitudes towards other communities, fewer studies explore the different strategies used by migrant women and women from host populations living in economically insecure contexts to negotiate gender roles, particularly around care arrangements, and how women can be economically empowered in such contexts. Women's participation in the market and their experience of economically insecure contexts are different compared to men in their communities for several reasons. First, migrant women take on a disproportionate burden of care, as care-sharing arrangements are disrupted because of migration – that is, when other 'care-sharers' (extended family members, husbands, etc.) are absent in their new context. In addition, migrant women and women from host populations alike often need to participate in market activities, which in turn leaves less time for care work. Second, women's ability to participate in the market economy may be limited because of the increased volatility in prices and competition in the job market, as well as heightened safety concerns, particularly concerns around gender-based violence in situations with heightened social tensions. Third, women may also have constraints (real or perceived) on their ability to mobilise and collectively bargain to secure their economic interests in such volatile contexts. These aspects of women's experience in economically insecure contexts need special focus, in order to understand how economic insecurity has specific impacts on care arrangements and possibilities for collective bargaining, as well as on the design of interventions that are effective in ensuring women's economic empowerment.

> "We need to understand how women's economic insecurity impacts on care arrangements and possibilities for collective bargaining."

Questions on women's economic empowerment and security in contexts of migration

Effective women's economic empowerment (WEE) programmes optimise women's participation in economic activities, share the gains of the empowerment within and across families, and are sustainable after the programme ends and passed onto next generations. They give women the ability to choose and control resources and assets, expand their opportunities and choices – personally as well as collectively – which in turn leads to *positive* engagement in the market and care economies (this is what we term the 'double boon').

Our focus on economic insecurity and women's economic empowerment evolves from our previous work with multiple partners in South Asia (e.g. India, Bangladesh, Nepal), sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Ghana, Tanzania, Rwanda), the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (e.g. Egypt) and Latin America (e.g. Brazil) on different issues. This focus has evolved from our previous work on women's economic empowerment, including work on: unpaid care work (GrOW); social safety nets and conditional cash transfers; and on women's participation in formal paid work and its links to empowerment (Pathways of Women's Empowerment).

IDS researchers from the Gender and Sexuality cluster and partners will aim to investigate women's economic empowerment and economic insecurity from a micro-level perspective. At the heart of the research will be this question:

How can WEE programmes effectively empower women in economically insecure contexts among and around migrant populations?

The research will be guided by three broad sub-questions:

- What types of WEE programmes exist in contexts of economic insecurity? How do they differ from WEE programmes in economically secure contexts?

- What mechanisms and processes are triggered by WEE programmes to empower women in economically insecure contexts?

- What makes WEE programmes effective in economically insecure contexts?

Different methodologies need to be employed in order to answer these types of questions. To get a better overview and understanding of the types of WEE programmes implemented in economically fragile contexts, a literature review is needed in combination with a mapping of various programmes for different contexts, which can be supported by engaging key informants (e.g. academics, implementing organisations and policymakers) throughout. To understand what mechanisms and processes are utilised and supported by WEE programmes, a promising approach will be to deploy a combination of qualitative comparative methods and analysis across sites, including: (1) conducting key informant interviews within communities; (2) documenting case studies with women participating in the programmes as well as with non-participants and family members; and (3) process tracing. Finally, to understand what drives effectiveness in programmes, there is a need to investigate differences in design and approach, and the roles of different actors and stakeholders, as well as to map the contexts of structures and institutions across sites. This should involve a combination of: interviewing programme staff; studying programme documentation; conducting stakeholder mappings and participatory research; participant observations; and small community surveys.

As state-led WEE programmes in current fragile contexts of migrant and host populations are very rare, our aim will be to focus on programmes implemented by non-state actors, such as NGOs, donors and development agencies or the private sector. We aim to conduct comparative country studies in the MENA and South Asia regions, selecting these based on geographical location and types of migrants; sites will be chosen to capture different levels of economic realities and insecurities within particular countries. This allows for comparison within and between countries, yielding a rich portrait of factors that make WEE programmes effective in economically insecure contexts. Our work and findings on economic insecurity, agency of migrant women, and comparison between state-led and NGO-driven WEE programmes will be informed by and will contribute to research by other IDS clusters, including Business, Markets and the State; Participation; Governance; and Power and Popular Politics.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS
This work stream contributes directly to **SDG 5** (gender equality), **SDG 8** (decent work) and **SDG 10** (reduce inequalities). Our focus on unpaid care and economic empowerment of marginalised groups of women is linked to **SDG 5**. Ensuring financial inclusion and economic participation of women are targets within **SDG 8**. **SDG 10** focuses on reducing inequalities in income as well as inequalities based on age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status within and across countries. This links to our focus on the issues of economic insecurity, gender and migration.

Men and masculinities for equality, peace and justice

We have seen some good progress in the field of integrating men and boys in work on gender equality and, indeed, some positive shifts in terms of their attitudes to women's empowerment, in the face of a number of broader trends (Hassink *et al.* 2015). Yet, we have also witnessed more worrying recent trends challenging such progress, as already discussed. For example, in the context of rising economic inequalities and polarising social and political tensions, along with efforts targeting the empowerment of women, we have witnessed the emergence of 'male backlash', 'militarised masculinities' and new expressions of misogyny, limiting progress on women's economic empowerment, or safe and equal participation in work and in public and political life (Edström and Shahrokh 2015; Hamaus *et al.* 2015).

Furthermore, the noted shrinking of civil society space may be weakening grass-roots movements (Harcourt 2012), and a co-option of many women's rights and social justice movements into less progressive agendas (Fraser 2009) may compromise work with men and boys to engage meaningfully with women's agendas and other social justice agendas. At a global level, this calls for challenging the corporate capture of certain development and gender equality agendas and some recent 'securitisation' of development and gender itself, perhaps particularly within the women's peace and security agenda.[9]

IDS has a long track record of convening critical debates and conducting research together with partners on masculinities since the turn of the millennium, including efforts at 'Politicising Masculinities' (in 2007), 'Undressing Patriarchy' (in 2013) or 'Reframing Men and Boys in Policy for Gender Equality' (in 2015). Long-term allies and partners include the Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) in India, the Refugee Law Project (RLP) in Uganda, the African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC) and Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) in Kenya, Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa and Promundo in the USA. Based on a recent major collaborative review of evidence (Edström *et al.* 2015), eight case studies and an international workshop between researchers, activists and policymakers, key future directions identified between IDS and partners (Edström and Shahrokh 2016) include:

- exploring 'intersectionality' as a key element for working with men and women jointly on gender and other social justice issues, and for making linkages across social movements;
- treating gender as simultaneously relational and multidimensional;
- focusing more on power in gender and on the role of the powerful;
- linking the personal and the political and holding men accountable to women's calls for gender justice;
- moving beyond project-based modalities toward longer-term, adaptive approaches.

Questions for the future on men, boys and masculinities

Research to better inform work with different types of men on positive and equitable masculinities now needs to build better knowledge and evidence on effective processes and political strategy, beyond individual attitudes and behaviour (Jewkes, Flood and Lang 2015; Edström and Shahrokh 2016). It needs to do so within contextualised understanding of such work and within institutional settings (homes, workplaces, public

> **We have witnessed the emergence of male backlash, militarised masculinities and new expressions of misogyny.**

bodies, etc.), processes and programmes. Methods and tools also need to be further developed and combined for capacity building across groups, movements and programmes to support such work and to strengthen men's accountability for gender justice.

Focusing on three thematic areas – of responding to gender-based violence, equalising and valuing domestic care work, and increasing women's participation in politics and public life – we propose the key central question:

Alongside women's (and other social justice) movements, how do we work better with men and boys to build positive strategies to transform negative masculinities and patriarchal processes?

Specific questions for this research agenda are as follows.

- How can positive ways of working with men and boys towards gender equality be improved by using 'intersectionality' in building their critical consciousness of gender inequality and social justice (as linked to class, sexuality or other identities)?
- How can such men be supported to play positive roles in the reform of patriarchal institutions and processes?
- How can networks and organisations engaged in work on men and masculinities be supported to relate more positively to the work and ambitions of women's movements (and other social justice struggles) for peace and equality?

Research into these questions will be co-constructed with partners and will draw on a mix of research methods. Aside from starting with reviews of existing research and mapping of evidence on good practice, answering these questions will require: basic grounded community research with partners on gender dynamics and realities within institutions and movements; action research with partners on 'how to do it better' within processes aimed at fostering social change, including methodological research on tools and guidance; and facilitated mutual learning processes with programmers, researchers and policymakers.

The modes of working need to be inclusive and balance different approaches, such as: specific cross-regional collaborations for anthropologically 'thick descriptions' and case studies, to elaborate and compare contextualised realities; co-convening of spaces for critical reflection to advance debates with policymakers; accompaniment with research attached to activists' work, to describe and better guide processes for change; and targeted capacity building for activist-driven documentation and sharing (video, digital stories, online learning and short courses, etc.).

"Work with men needs better evidence on processes and political strategy, beyond individual behaviour."

Using a combination of detailed strategies to work in communities and on local governance and broader efforts aimed at influencing national, regional or global processes, we will aim to build a programme of research with partners across Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East.[10] While direct and intensive collaborations will most likely remain limited to two or three sub-regions, we will also aim to engage with broader networks for exploring men's groups' accountability to women's movements, for convening formative debates, as well as for communicating research and leveraging new knowledge generated through the collaborations.[11] Furthermore, this research will aim to draw lessons from and also contribute to the research of other IDS clusters, on Participation, Governance, and Power and Popular Politics.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS Key areas of development work where patriarchal resistance to gender equality persists include: gendered violence; women's work and a more equal sharing of care work; and women's greater participation in politics and public life. These areas are highlighted in three targets within **SDG 5** on gender equality, albeit with little reference to men or masculinities. Furthermore, addressing men's roles in gender equality is also linked to **SDG 10**, which focuses on reducing inequalities in income as well as those based on age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, or economic or other status.

Gender, sexuality and digital development

The growing prevalence of mobile technologies and expansion of digital spaces are transforming not only the ways in which people navigate their personal and sexual lives, but also how they experience the state and engage as citizens in activism. Digital spaces have opened transformative opportunities for connection, anonymity and the accessing of vital information and resources. Yet at the same time, concerns about democratic legitimacy and questions about whose voice is being heard in digital spaces are continuing to grow. Addressing the safety and security implications for those in contexts with cultural sensitivities around issues of sexuality and gender such as lesbians, gays and bisexuals, or unmarried young people, is becoming particularly urgent.

The IDS Gender and Sexuality research cluster has already conducted research with partners into how digital engagement has impacted on their lives. This work builds on innovative participatory methods to combine online and offline research, digital storytelling and data visualisations that focus on LGBT communities, women's empowerment, sex workers and young people (Oosterhoff 2014). We have produced online platforms such as the Sexuality and Social Justice Toolkit to equip activists and policymakers with tools for practical advocacy and created the Gender Hub, which works to disseminate Nigerian gender research, provide e-learning courses drawn from local expertise and build communities of practice for a diversity of domestic audiences.

A new direction for questions and research

Building on this base, we will seek to work with partners and stakeholders to leverage the positive opportunities of digital development, alongside collaborations to reduce the risks posed to oppressed or marginalised communities on the basis of sexuality and gender. We will aim to help grass-roots organisations to use and navigate the technology more safely, sustain their activities, and protect themselves while influencing broader audiences and policymakers more effectively.

Two key questions lie at the heart of our research agenda, which relate to agency and constraints. Each is supported by certain sub-questions for exploration.

How are gender and sexual rights activists engaging with digital spaces to develop political strategies and express their identities?

Indicative sub-questions to help us explore this include:

- How does this online engagement impact on people's real lives and freedoms, and are there any unintended consequences, including security risks?
- What are the tensions between transnational online mobilisation and local activism and when is international clicktivism productive?
- What are the wider implications for solidarity campaigns across international borders?
- How are state and commercial gatekeepers mitigating these voices?

> **Addressing the safety and security implications for those in contexts with cultural sensitivities around issues of sexuality and gender such as lesbians, gays and bisexuals, or unmarried young people, is becoming particularly urgent.**

What are the causes and consequences of digital sexual and gender-based violence, and what can be done to reduce it?

Suggested sub-questions to help us explore this include:

- How can we reduce digital sexual and gender-based violence?
- Should our efforts be focused on mobilisation and awareness-raising among users, on policy, or on developing technological interventions, or combinations of these?
- How can we promote a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences in digital spaces, free of coercion, discrimination and violence?

Our experience to date has highlighted an interest in navigating a range of digital spaces to pose some of these questions to new audiences and making best use of the tools increasingly available, while remaining cognisant and critiquing some of the limitations of social media as a research tool. To support our new direction and address the questions raised, our further research needs to accomplish a number of things. First, there is a need for capacity building of grass-roots organisations working on sexuality and sexual rights by conducting participatory action research on the opportunities and barriers they face in, for example, crowdfunding and social media marketing of their work. Social media analytical research is also needed to examine the impact and ethics of transnational LGBT activism on social media platforms for local activist networks within politically conservative contexts. Furthermore, we need participatory action research methods and affective engagement with young people on the power dynamics underlying the production and distribution of online gender-based and sexual violence (including revenge porn), in order to develop interventions that reduce digital violence and improve digital literacy. Finally, there

is a need for a critical yet positive engagement with porn producers, social media companies, messaging service providers and sex educators on the unintended effects of censorship on access to vital public information, including sex education, and the effects of privacy restrictions on vulnerable populations.

The field of digital research is developing fast and allows us to undertake research that is both grounded in evidence while retaining space for experiential approaches. The recent establishment of a new, vibrant Digital research cluster at IDS has created new avenues of interdisciplinary collaboration. Our aim is to combine traditional methods of research such as classic literature reviews and context analysis with social media and social network analysis. We will conduct qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research with innovative digital components such as big data sets. We have a strong track record of collaboration in producing research together with

> **Research is needed on the impacts and ethics of transnational LGBT digital activism for local activists in conservative contexts.**

sexual minority communities, such as the transgender community in Vietnam. Where appropriate, the resulting data will be visualised for use by a number of audiences, such as policymakers, donors, activists and academic audiences in ways that broker connections for political change. We also have a proven track record in building, understanding and reflecting networks in the real world, in ways that pay attention to the particular ethical considerations, need for confidentiality and digital security implications faced by these marginalised groups. Part of what we offer to this work is marrying knowledge of how these issues operate in conjunction with the newer digital spaces and brokering these connections to achieve practical, political change with our networks of partners, such as the Tactical Technology Collective, Love Matters, the UK Lesbian & Gay Immigration Group and the Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Ensuring that political inclusion and participation in digital spaces remains inclusive contributes both to **SDG 10**: 'Reduce inequality within and among countries' and to **SDG 16**: 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels'.

Sexuality, gender, poverty and inclusion

IDS has had a long trajectory of influence in the field of sexuality and development and on linking sexuality and poverty, starting with Cornwall and Jolly's adaptation of Robert Chambers' Web of Poverty framework, which interlinks multiple dimensions of poverty (Chambers 2005, cited in Cornwall and Jolly 2006: 4–5). The Sexuality, Poverty and Law programme built up a qualitative evidence base that has influenced global debates, and has been taken forward in quantitative studies by others, including the World Bank. IDS' work on sexuality has also focused on marginalised groups such as LGBT and sex workers. They experience specific disadvantages based on sexuality with regard to ascribed and legal inferiority; lack of education, information and political influence; barriers to institutions and public access; spatial marginalisation; insecurities and other types of material poverty.

LGBT are a highly diverse group, something that is often overlooked in development literature. Sexual minority issues, to a large extent, found their way *into* development '*via*' the global HIV response, where there was some recognition of diversity but primarily in relationship to HIV prevention. This literature was initially largely ignored by development studies and research and vice versa. When LGBT are recognised at all, their gender and other internal differences are still often skimmed over, along with their related conflicting political and economic differences. For example, gender norms and expectations can lead to dramatically different livelihood options for transgender men and women. Different discriminations faced by gender-dissident or non-conforming youth in homes, communities and school can lead to dropout and serious disadvantages in terms of their future livelihood prospects. The frequent tendency to associate transgender issues with sex work may be relevant only for trans women, but not so for trans men, and is not helpful in understanding how gender and economic (dis)empowerment work.

In many countries, most people are employed in small or micro-businesses – LGBT included – where families often play a key role. This has important consequences for policy to promote economic inclusion of LGBT, as it means that a focus on families as economic units and with small or micro-businesses needs to challenge heteronormative assumptions of what families are, or how they work. Social capital is key in understanding the different opportunities of start-up entrepreneurs and self-employed contractors looking for 'gigs' (i.e. part-time jobs without traditional benefits such as health care, or paid leave), which tend to put women at a disadvantage due to gender roles and norms. Research in Vietnam suggests that these gender disadvantages particularly affect transgender women's aspirations and livelihood options.

The economic trajectories of sex workers are helpful in understanding the broader economic dynamics of increasing self-employment and the 'gig' economy. Research in India showed that many sex workers previously worked in the informal economy with very poor conditions and pay before deciding that sex work was a more viable option (Sahni and Shankar 2013). As they often belong to lower castes, they have also typically faced multiple forms of caste-based discrimination and exploitation in the labour market. Sex workers in Cambodia and Ethiopia made similar

> ❝LGBT are a highly diverse group, which is often overlooked in development literature.❞

> 66 Hard gained sexual rights of LGBT, young unmarried people and sex workers often disappear during man-made, natural or health crises. 99

rational economic choices, but all too often their economic and practical concerns (including housing or education for their children) have been ignored in development policies. Instead, they have been given HIV prevention packages or have been 'rehabilitated' – often against their own will and better judgement – from well-paying 'gigs' back to poor-paying informal employment.

A small but growing body of research shows that hard-gained sexual rights of LGBT, young unmarried people and sex workers often disappear during man-made, natural or health crises. For example, government and relief agencies failed to address the needs and vulnerabilities of sexual minorities following the tsunami in Tamil Nadu (Pincha and Krishna 2008) and the earthquake in Haiti (IGLHRC and SEROvie 2011). Sexual minorities were inadvertently excluded from disaster relief in both cases, and their health and physical safety was compromised because of their sexual orientation or identity. In another example, ignoring the sexual and reproductive health realities of unmarried young people led to increased unwanted pregnancies in Sierra Leone (Elston *et al.* 2015). When schools opened after the Ebola emergency, pregnant girls were denied school access, which will have long-lasting effects on their economic potential.

New questions on poverty and sexuality

Given the basis of this emerging work on sexuality, LGBT, sex work and poverty, as well as the shortcomings in how it has tended to be treated in development (when acknowledged at all) and the shifting dynamics of social change in a development context, three sets of questions emerge as high priorities for further research. The first relates to mapping the linkages and dynamics between sexuality and poverty. The second interrogates connections between political projects of research and advocacy. The third challenges us to adapt research and lessons in this area to humanitarian emergency settings:

What are the causes and consequences of economic exclusions based on transgender identity, sex work, sexual orientation and/or sexuality of other women and men? And, of different intersecting combinations of marginalised identities?

Can transgender men and women's economic and political interests be linked to feminist, masculinities and other queer research and political agendas on economic and social inclusion? And, what are some promising directions and tensions for exploration or resolution?

How can sexual and economic rights of LGBT, young unmarried people and sex workers be maintained and promoted in humanitarian responses to conflict, man-made and natural disasters, or health emergencies?

These questions can be usefully explored using mixed methodologies in both online digital and offline spaces usually combined with visual, interactive and participatory methodologies and approaches. As a consequence of the impact of poverty among so many indicators of human development, this area of work cuts across a number of research clusters at IDS, such as Health and Nutrition, Conflict and Violence, Participation, and Power and Popular Politics. New research needs to focus on LGBT and economic inclusion in small businesses and in

the informal economy, and bring 'gender' back into transgender research, as a recent literature review has shown that much of the literature on transgender people is limited to their risks of contracting HIV during sex work (Oosterhoff *et al.* 2014). While HIV prevalence rates among trans women sex workers are alarming, this focus has ignored the role of gender in their impoverishment and marginalisation, and paid virtually no attention to transgender men. Trans women have many similar concerns as other women beyond HIV risks, which would argue for collaborations of trans women with feminist movements, in addition to LGBT organising around HIV and human rights. Research is needed to clarify the nature and content of distinctions as well as the connections between LGB and T to develop more inclusive practical and strategic development strategies. In a similar vein, feminist movements have had long-standing difficulties with sex work and sex work organisations. Research that recognises sex work as one of the many responses and options of women living in increasingly informal and unregulated economies could help to build bridges between sex work

> **❝Research is needed to understand how sexual and economic rights of LGBT, sex workers and young people are affected by emergencies.❞**

activists and feminists and develop strategies for inclusive economies. In a volatile world where the distinctions between development, emergencies and protracted emergencies are increasingly blurred, research is also urgently needed to understand how the sexual and economic rights of LGBT, sex workers and young people are affected by these transitions and what can be done to maintain or promote them.

These questions and issues on poverty, inclusion and sexuality call for comparative research that allows us to make comparisons within regions or between countries that have similar economic histories. We have particular regional expertise in South Asia and Southeast Asia (e.g. in India, Nepal, Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines), in West Africa (in Sierra Leone, Ghana, Senegal, Togo, Ivory Coast and Nigeria), in East Africa (e.g. in Kenya and Uganda) and, increasingly, in the Middle East (e.g. in Lebanon and Palestine). Organisations such as GALANG, the Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population, Nirantar, Sonke Gender Justice and Pink Space have been critical in shaping and framing the exclusions faced by sexual and gender minorities. Not only do we need new evidence, we also need partnerships on the ground to take action and demonstrate that marginalisation, exclusion and traditional heteronormative views and approaches can change.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Ensuring that attention is placed on reducing the compounded inequalities faced by sexual and gender minorities contributes to **SDG 10**, 'Reduce inequality within and among countries' and, more directly, to **SDG 1**: 'End poverty in all its forms everywhere'.

Adding value to the directions

New frontier areas for exploration in gender and sexuality

In addition to updating, reframing and redirecting existing streams of work, it is also important to create space for new topics that have not been substantively addressed in our collaborations on gender and sexuality in development. Important areas identified include unsafe migration, climate change, and faith, gender and sexuality. Some of these do come into our work in different ways, but there is not yet a critical mass in the cluster to establish these as streams of work, although we hope to collaborate with others to reach that point in the coming five years.

In terms of *faith, gender and sexuality*, analysis of research on gender, sexuality, conflict and social movements has found that faith leaders and communities play an important but often under-examined role in shaping social norms and advancing equality. We will aim to explore opportunities for developing new research on faith, gender and sexuality in: (1) politics and policy; (2) conflict and civil society; and (3) informal institutions and social norms. In the area of '*unsafe migration*', we are learning that unsafe migration and the refugee crisis reinforce existing global gendered structural inequities, as well as creating new inequities and some opportunities for change. Here we plan to explore opportunities for developing new research on (1) bonded labour and trafficking; and (2) sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) among refugee and displaced populations.

Cross-pollination and cross-stream linkages

Drawing an important lesson from past programmes, such as our three-year programme on Gender, Power and Sexuality with Sida (Sweden), the Pathways of Women's Empowerment programme and our five-year Accountable Grant with DFID (UK), we have learned that future development and creative progress relies not only on doggedly pursuing distinct work streams through their own steps and logic

(crucial though that is), but also requires learning and reflection across streams of work to draw broader lessons and renew approaches for greater overall impact and development. For the next period, and building on the collaborative process already started, we thus aim to create specific opportunities and moments for learning and reflection – both across the streams and reaching out to partners and policymakers. Some of these can be anchored in how the fundamental principles may be reflected differently across the work, while others will focus on the 'how' of our approach to research, partnership and co-construction.

> "Future development requires learning and reflection across themes to draw bigger lessons and renew approaches."

Over a period of five years, we will aim to create a regular series of major spaces and opportunities for cross-issue learning, anchored in fundamental principles of Agenda 2030 and linked conceptual tools and ideas at the forefront of research in sexuality, gender and development.

For example, at the level of contextual gender analysis, we aim to create and convene spaces for exploring what we can understand by 'indivisibility' – or '*multidimensionality*' – in sexuality, gender and development. That includes comparing and exploring how the different areas of work link social, economic and political justice in our work – both how our analyses account for the multidimensionality of inequity and how multidisciplinarity can be enhanced for stronger analyses, explanations and evidence. Such multidimensionality is not limited to the three dimensions of society, economy and politics, but should include the dimension of identity and embodiment in relation to gender and sexuality (as is becoming clear through work on supporting mental and psychosocial healing and wellbeing of female and male survivors of SGBV in conflict-affected and humanitarian settings).

For bridging analysis, policy and action, we plan to create joint explorations with partners across the work on the principle of 'universality', by exploring 'power' in terms of gendered power dynamics permeating and crossing borders, spaces and levels as well as linking formal and informal aspects of institutions. We need to explore different approaches to institutional analysis, for unpacking the (formal and informal) 'rules of the game' and how gendered power operates, or agency is expressed, within institutions and structures and at various levels from the local to the global. This also involves exploring reflexivity and 'researching up' to understand gender dynamics at higher levels of power and politics.

In terms of identities, marginalisation and the principle of 'inclusivity' for leaving no one behind, we intend to further explore 'intersectionality' across different streams of work, in order to support broader learning and analyses of agency and activism in relation to structural injustice, process and accountability. Comparisons on approaches to intersectionality will not be limited to how gender links to class, sexuality or ethnicity (for example), but will also explore the diversity that exists within any group (recognising that intersectionality can divide constituencies as well as allowing for solidarities and alliances across groups).

▲ 'American Graffiti', The Meatpacking District, Manhattan.

> 66 Comparing intersectionality across themes can support broader learning on 'inclusivity' and activism in relation to structural injustice. 99

Uses and modalities of cross-stream linkages and comparisons

In order to link a universal approach to gendered power with intersectional analyses for inclusivity, we are interested in comparing research on intra-movement power dynamics in sexual rights organising with how masculinities research explores certain men's groups' conflicted engagements with women's movements. We also want to juxtapose this with research on how class and caste divide some feminist constituencies, while allowing others to ally with other groups for shared social justice objectives.

Such broader lessons are important to supporting work aimed at forging and sustaining linkages across movements, and making spaces for engagement and accountability. We will aim to explore how learning on intersectionality can support better ways of forging linkages across movements in social justice activism. In sharing and comparing work on gender and institutional change, we can help to inform strategies and processes that can lead to gender-equitable institutional change, both by deepening our understanding of gender dynamics of institutional change and by identifying what leads to gender-equitable institutional change in different contexts. Finally, such cross-stream lessons will also inform the needs for updating research directions in itself.

We will deploy several different modalities for linking and connecting research and debates across streams of work, and for maximising the learning from this. Depending on resources and opportunities, we foresee (for example):

• organising focused international symposia;

• co-convening conference sessions and panels with partners across the streams;

• facilitating e-discussions and webinars;

• commissioning papers and publishing edited volumes;

• designing and delivering training;

• facilitated study exchanges.

Important to the cross-stream component of our directions is to co-construct a process – across streams and partnerships – with structure and direction, as well as one with iterative review and in-built flexibility and adaptability of the approach itself.